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ABSTRACT

Examined is a general model of the socialization process based on Polak's theory of social change which identifies key agents of the process which shape perceptions of the possibility of creative change instead of defensiveness or aggression in situations where old behaviors are inadequate. Six agents of socialization are identified: family, primary social environment, extrafamilial role model, school, secondary social environment, and voluntary associations. It was suggested that the relative importance of each agent would shift over time, moving from family primacy in childhood to secondary social environment and voluntary association. Examined also is some material on student perceptions of possible futures. A ranking by students of socializing agents in their own lives indicated that the family fell from first to second place, but no further. In general, students felt optimistic about the future in areas where they felt they could make a personal input and less so where they felt they could not. Considering the constraints of the present domestic and world situation, the strong possible feelings about the future are almost surprising. (Author/CJ)

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SOCIALIZATION SEQUENCES AND STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARDS NON-VIOLENT SOCIAL CHANGE

by Elise Boulding

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SOCIALIZATION SEQUENCES AND STUDENT ATTITUDES
TOWARDS NON-VIOLENT SOCIAL CHANGE

by Elise Boulding

Non-violent social change may be defined as that restructuring of institutions, opportunities, behaviors and values in a society which is accomplished without inflicting constraints on the members of that society which do them physical or mental harm.* The areas of social change we are most interested in here are those relating to domestic social injustice and militarism. Non-violent change in these areas may be studied in a variety of conceptual frameworks, including the structural-functional framework, the framework of the psycho-social development of the individual member of society, and the intermediate framework of the socialization process which prepares people for defined social roles. The first approach focuses on the capacity of the social structure to adapt to new requirements, redraw social boundaries, create new social roles and redistribute opportunities in society. The second approach focuses on the developmental sequence taking place in the maturation process for each individual in relation to his capacity to manage tensions and conflicts.

The third approach, and the one taken here, focuses on the linkage function between social structure and individual role-taker by looking at

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*Both violence and non-violence are exceedingly difficult to define, and this definition is frankly a "compromise" definition which begs the question of what "harm" is. Presence or absence of intention to do harm is treated as irrelevant.

the process by which social institutions shape individuals to carry out necessary social roles. Socialization is normally thought of in terms of preparation for the maintenance of the existing social structures (5). Since change is a constant feature of all human institutions over time, it is perfectly reasonable to focus on the extent to which society prepares individuals to act as agents of peaceful adaptation and change. This is obviously better done in societies which have an "official" ideology of change than in societies which do not. However, all societies, change-oriented or not, exhibit ambivalence and inconsistency in their socialization practices when it comes to dealing with the problem of preparing their members both for stability and change. It is to a society's interest to prepare its members for non-destructive change behaviors, since this enables necessary and inevitable change to take place with a minimum of hurt to the society and its individual members. When no provision for the development of innovative role-taking is made, then the stage is set for a necessary resort to violence to disrupt and destroy inflexible structures. Since the 1960's and 1970's seem to be an era in which there is considerable (if vague) value consensus in some leading sectors of scciety about the need for far-reaching social changes, it becomes very important to identify the socialization sequences which prepare young people to play innovative social roles.

In this paper I will look at a general model of the socialization process which identifies key agents and aspects of the process which shape perceptions of the possibility of creative change instead of definsiveness or aggression in situations where old behaviors are not adequate. The model includes the three stages of childhood, adolescence

and young adulthood. This model will be set in the framework of Polak's theory of social change which is based on the concept that man's most basic human characteristic is the ability to perceive the totally other, including other forms of social order, alternative futures for man. His theory postulates that creative minorities in a society generate an array of images of the future. By an unspecified process of social selection, certain of these images become powerful dynamic forces which act on the present to shape behaviors and institutions that move society toward desired futures. There are four modes of imaging this future, based on possible combinations of optimism and pessimism concerning the nature of reality and man. Only one of these modes is conducive to a general social perception of the possibility of non-violent social change, and the othe three produce varying degrees of frustration and aggression, or apathy. The four Polakian modes are as follows:

1. Essence optimism combined with influence optimism: The world is good and man can make it even better.

2. Essence optimism combined with influence pessimism: The world is good but it goes of itself and man cannot alter the course of events.

3. Essence pessimism combined with influence optimism: The world is bad but man can make it better.

4. Essense pessimism combined with influence pessimism: The world is bad and there isn't a damn thing man can do about it. (28)

A society in which the first mode prevails is a dynamic, peaceful but activist society. The Age of Enlightenment in Europe is a good example of this mode of viewing the future. The second mode produces

cheerful passivity, the fourth despair or apathy. The third is perhaps most characteristic of our own age and carries a double potential in it, depending on the socialization experiences of the young. If they have had success experiences with activist problem-solving roles from early childhood, and role models and learning experiences which support this stance, they may perceive that the world can be made better non-violently. If they have not had success experiences with activist behavior, and have lacked other supportive experiences or role models, they may come to feel that destruction is a necessary precondition of change. It should be pointed out that the vast majority of people in any society do not look upon themselves as change agents, but as maintainers of or simply participants in an existing order. If a high value is set on change, however, a larger percentage of young people growing up in that society will respond to possible change roles than if change is not highly valued. We are in effect looking at the socialization sequence primarily in terms of that segment of children and young people both in the mainstream culture and in minority cultures who are at some level aware of social change values. It is perhaps one of the ironies of our time that while change per se is highly valued the imaged content of the alternative future toward which we are to move is vague and contradictory. While this is an issue which this paper cannot deal with, a process of socialization for change roles which operates independently of a coherent conception of a desirable future creates at least as many problems as it solves.

After examining a socialization model which attempts to identify factors relating to the production of violent as compared to non-violent

change agents, we will look at some material on perceptions of possible futures and of the possibility of non-violent social change from a recent study of university students.

The Socialization Model

The six agents of socialization that shape the individual's view of possible futures, how change can come about, and what his own role will be, are identified here as (1) the family, (2) the primary social environment, (3) extra-familial role models, (4) the school, (5) the secondary (mass-media-filtered) social environment, and (6) voluntary associations. While all the segments of socialization are continuously active throughout a person's lifetime, it is suggested that the primary agents of family and local neighborhood events are most important in the early years. Secondary agents and formal education become more important later. A great deal has been written about family and school as socializers, but not in the specific context of attitudes toward war, social injustice and non-violence. What are the special features of family, school and other environmental agents, which determine the growing child's perception of (1) a future state of society that is better than the present state, (2) the possibility that this may come about through peaceful evolutionary change and (3) that he himself may be an agent of such change? Further, what is the relevance of <u>timing</u> in the socialization sequence? Do certain types of events have critical impacts at certain ages? The hypothesis implicit in this model is that experiences which lead to the perception of alternative futures in any problem situation, alternative role paths to those futures and a sense of personal competence to choose or construct role paths toward a desired future, will produce persons who believe that non-violent change toward a better society is possible.

Figure 1 presents the general model with an indication of the shifting importance of primary and secondary socializers over time. Figure 2 gives more detail about specific socializing agents. At any

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Insert Figures 1 and 2 here.

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given point in time, each of the specified socializing agents is in interaction with each of the others. Further, each age-specific set of socialization experiences acts as a set of perceptual screens through which successive socialization experiences are filtered. In the discussion which follows, we will deal with the six agents of socialization specified above in the three broadly inclusive stages of childhood, adolescence and young adulthood.

Childhood

The Family. The role model effect of parents in determining both social and economic roles of children, and of style of role performance, has now been well documented. Taking specific components of the parental role model with relation to non-violent behavioral styles of children, we may point to the child abuse studies as dramatic evidence of the importance for children of parental styles of dealing with their own conflicts and insecurities as well as with parent-child clashes of will. Here the evidence is clear that parents who physically abuse children are rigid, anxious persons who were themselves abused as children in a self-perpetuating cycle of inability to manage tensions and engage in task-oriented behavior in problem situations (8, 14). Schizophrenia

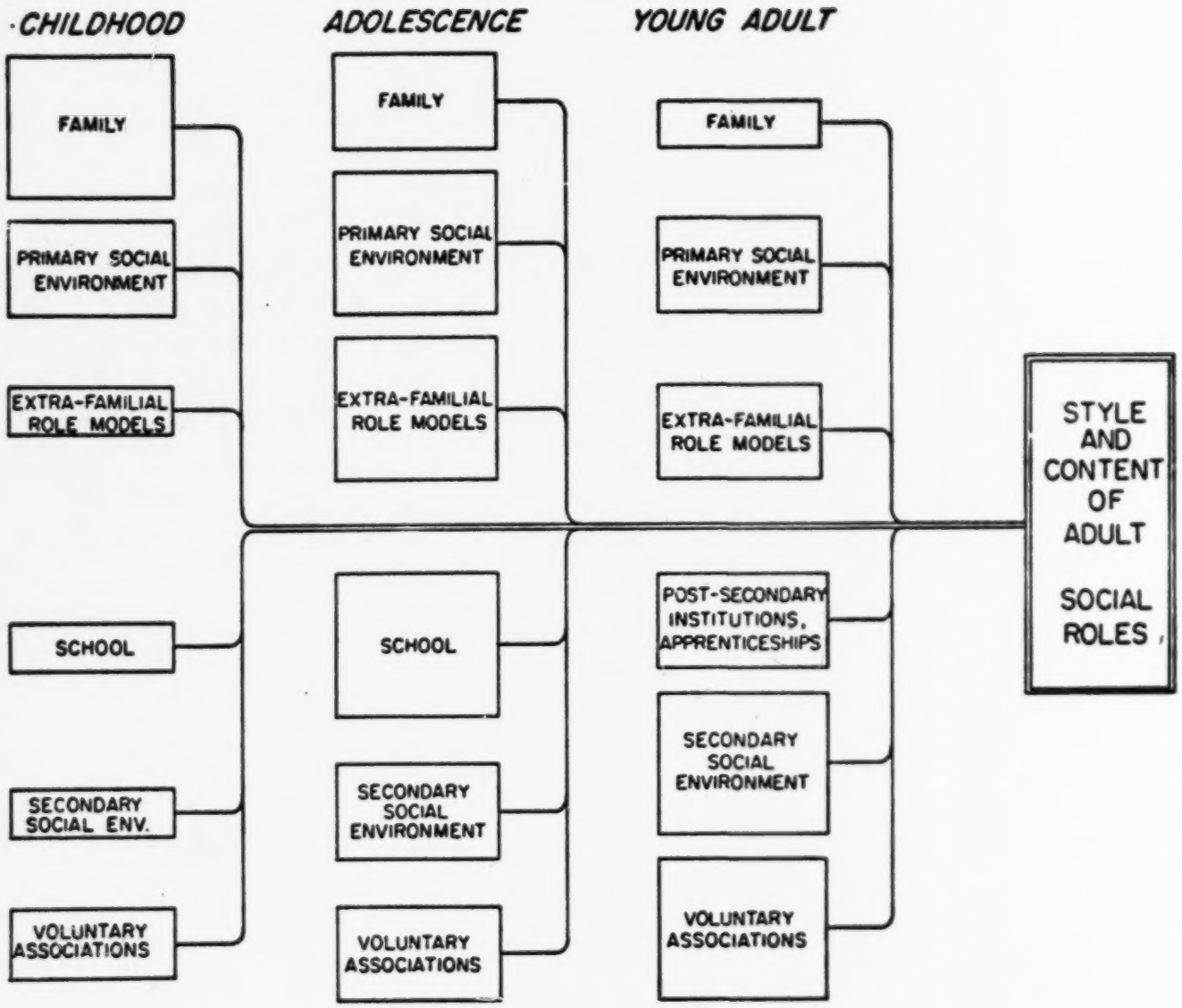

Figure 1. Socialization: Variable Relevant to the Development of Adult Social Change Agent Roles.

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*The boxes are sized on a 3-point scale of large, medium and small reflecting the relative importance of each variable within the box at each of the 3 stages of development.

Figure 2. Socialization Model: Variables Relevant to the Development of Adult Social Change Agent Roles.

Childhood	Adolescence	Young Adult
<u>The Family</u> a. Parents as role models for personal conflict management. b. Child-rearing patterns: (M-F differential socialization) training for autonomy, problem-solving; personal warmth of training styles. c. Cultural selectivity in types of: toys, culture objects and experiences, books, use of mass media. d. Level of social and political awareness; family conversations, choice of mass media, friends.	<u>The Family</u> Continues, few fresh inputs perceived by teen-ager.	<u>The Family</u> Re-evaluation of family experience and parental role models as student undergoes anticipatory socialization for marriage.
<u>Primary Social Environment</u> Primary experience of **local current** events. Experience of authority figures--policeman, doctor; experience of neighborhood happenings.	<u>Primary Social Environment</u> Experience of local events, in home, school, peer groups and community settings.	<u>Primary Social Environment</u> Experience of local events in an increasing variety of social milieux--home town <u>vs</u>. university community, and other communities, depending on extent of travel. This provides basis for comparative judgements concerning current events.

Continued

Figure 2. Continued

Childhood	Adolescence	Young Adult
Extra-Familial Role Models a. Primary: family friends, neighbors, teachers, SS teachers, leaders of other children's groups. b. Secondary: characters in children's stories; on TV; presentation of "heroes" for young children from Bible, from history.	Extra-Familial Role Models a. Primary: conscious evaluation and selection of role models from family friends, teachers, other significant adults. b. Secondary: major contemporary figures presented in mass media, biographies of famous men and women; presentation of "heroes" in history books; presentation of self and world view of authors chosen in self-directed reading.	Extra-Familial Role Models a. Primary: conscious evaluation and selection of role models from family friends, teachers, other significant adults from various social milieux. b. Secondary: major contemporary figures presented in mass media, biographies of famous men and women; presentation of "heroes" in history books; presentation of self and world view of authors chosen in self-directed reading.
School: Formal Cognitive Mapping a. teacher presentation of world. b. textbook presentation of world.	School: Formal Cognitive Mapping Concentrated intake of new information in school setting; cognitive structures become increasingly differentiated, complex. Increasing amounts of self-directed reading.	School: Formal Cognitive Mapping Increasingly concentrated intake of new information in increasingly diversified fields; further complexification of cognitive structures; further increase in self-directed reading; increasingly critical evaluation of information presented.

Continued

Figure 2. Continued

Childhood	Adolescence	Young Adult
Secondary Social Environment Experience of current events through presentation by parents, teachers, and authority figures, mass media, minimal amount through reading.	Secondary Social Environment Experience of significant national and international current events decreasingly mediated through teachers, parents, other significant adults; increasingly mediated through peer groups, mass media, independent reading and search for information.	Secondary Social Environment Experience of significant national and international current events mediated through an increasing variety of sources: mass media, professors, other respected authorities, peer groups, special reference groups and voluntary associations. Increasingly independent search for information about current happenings.
Voluntary Associations These reference groups provide anticipatory socialization for change agent or social conservation roles: task roles in school and church settings; play roles in home and neighborhood; cub scouts and brownies, etc.	Voluntary Associations These reference groups provide anticipatory socialization for change agent or social conservation roles: through student government and school associations; other voluntary associations chosen by teen-ager; as member of informal peer groupings.	Voluntary Associations These reference groups provide anticipatory socialization for change agent or social conservation roles: in university or other voluntary associations; army, VISTA, Peace Corps, national and international student movements.

studies pursue similar phenomena in another frame of reference (20). Charny (4) brings out the dynamics of the husband-wife interaction in dealing with hostility from the therapist's perspective in a way which has rich implications for the modeling effect. Research on modes of child-rearing for autonomous problem-solving and on the importance of the interpersonal warmth dimension of parental guidance points to fairly well-defined parental behaviors which relate to the child's problem-solving performance and sense of competence (30). Frustration and aggression levels (6) are much lower for children who feel competent.

The toys available for children's play in the home contribute to socialization for more or less aggressive behavior. Research on the influence of the presence of guns and military artifacts on the incidence of aggression in play behavior (29) can be taken as representative of a whole new area of research on the influence of artifacts of violence and visual presentation of violence on TV in triggering higher levels of tension and aggression in children's interactions with their peers.

The social and political climate reflected in family conversations on political and social issues, on choice of media programs viewed by the parents, periodicals and newspapers subscribed to, and friends who are invited to the home, shapes the child's view of the world and himself. He sees the world as either fixed or changeable, authority figures as friendly or hostile, and himself as an active agent or passive object of social manipulation by the authority figures. Research on political socialization is increasingly documenting the dynamics of this process (32).

In short as a socializing agent, the family provides the child with role models for the management of tension and conflict, with training for problem-solving, with a self-image reflecting perceived adequacy and

competence, with opportunities for aggressive or creative play, and with an image of the world as set or changeable, friendly or hostile.

Primary Social Environment. While the pre-schooler is socialized primarily through the family, the primary social environment outside the home, i.e., the neighborhood, gradually increases in imporance as a socializing agent for the pre-adolescent. Neighbors, policemen, the family doctor, and other local figures interact with him in neighborhood events and reinforce or contradict the training given in the family setting. Children from ethnic minorities and deviant subcultures usually get contradictory messages from the family and some parts of the primary social environment. Depending on other aspects of the child's socialization experience, this may confuse him or give him a sense of alternative roles open to him.

Extra-Familial Role Models. These role models fall into two categories: the primary models observed in face-to-face interaction in home and neighborhood, and the secondary models (culture heroes) encountered in reading, and on TV. The range of secondary culture heroes the young child is exposed to tends to be narrow, and the characters stereotyped as good guys or bad guys. One set is based on biblical tradition, often with a passive orientation, another on nationalist traditions, with an activist orientation, and the two are rarely integrated. Concepts of growth and development of character in these role models are usually absent. Special subcultures may provide special dynamic presentations of both primary and secondary role models

to children in the form of movement heroes and heroines.*

School. The socializing influence of the school is felt (a) through the teacher as a personal role model, (b) through the teacher's ordering of data concerning the structure, organization and values of society and (c) through textbook presentation of the world. The last two, (b) and (c) contribute explicitly to the child's cognitive mapping of the world, though there is an implicit contribution to the cognitive mapping from all the sources listed earlier.

There is some evidence that there may be a direct relationship between the complexity of the cognitive structure of the elementary school teachers and the degree of acceptance of groups and cultures different from one's own on the part of elementary school students, independently of the type of textbook used (21).

Not only does the teacher's own cognitive structure mediate the learnings of the students, but styles of teaching foster either an active intellectual search on the part of the students which enables them to sustain cognitive dissonance and engage in creative problem-solving, or a passive "receptacle" stance which induces compartmentalized

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*The local Black Panther or Chicano leader may be a very direct role model for black or chicano children, as are media heroes such as Martin Luther King and Ceasar Chavez. In a somewhat similar vein, though in a very different setting, nineteenth century traveling Quakers exercised a powerful influence on the small children brought into the family living room to hear the visiting Quaker pray (18).

stereotyped thinking and an inability to confront new situations. The active stance is associated with creativity in the face of the hostile or the strange, the passive stance with aggression or immobility in similar situations (19).

Secondary Social Environment. The secondary social environment socializes the child to aggressive vs. problem-solving behavior through the intermediary instruments of parents, teachers, authority figures and the mass media. The significant events in the larger society such as war, depression, the assassination of public figures, major rioting, etc. have an impact on the child somewhat independently of the mediating figures, however. For the adult, these public events are seen in the context of previous public events, particularly the ones they experienced in their childhood. For the child there is a primacy about a current social catastrophe which may color all his later perceptions of public events. For example, fear of war and nuclear holocaust seems to be much stronger in the minds of children and young people than in the minds of those who had reached adulthood before the Hiroshima and Nagasaki nuclear bombings (9, 11).

Voluntary Associations. The child has an opportunity to play out a variety of alternative roles in his play groups, church association settings and formal groups such as cub scouts and brownies. The degree of rigidity and level of aggression with which he plays these roles, and his openness to alternative solutions to problems, is largely determined by his socialization experiences in the other settings mentioned. However, the opportunities for anticipatory

socialization into possible change agent roles in this play behavior are significant in themselves; Huizinga (16) has pointed out the importance of play in generating social innovation.

Socialization for possible future creative change agent roles in childhood is carried out primarily by the family. The family is the source of role models and training for managing conflict and solving problems, of images of the world as manageable or not, and of images of the self as competent or not. The primary social environment directly experienced by the child outside the home is next in importance, and extra-familial role models, the school, the secondary social environment and voluntary associations available for children all make small but separate inputs into his conception of his present and future social roles.

Adolescence

The Family. While all the socializing influences of the family continue into adolescence, their effects are muted by (a) habituation and (b) by the progressive widening of the experience gap between adults and teenagers. Habituation acts to block off stimuli which are so familiar that they convey no new information (12). The experience gap is created by the fact that adult's reactions to new phenomena in the social environment are mediated by powerful earlier experiences which blunt the impact of the current phenomenon, while teenager's reactions to the same new phenomena are far more direct. This results in very different mental images of the same external phenomenon in the

adolescent and the adult, and weakens the confidence of each in the judgement of the other. The further effect is to weaken the influence of the family as a direct socializing agent. To the extent, however, that the family becomes the intersection point for the not-yet-independent teenager between conflicting socializing influences of his parents and outside influences, it remains an emotionally salient agent.

Primary Social Environment. Direct experience of neighborhood and community events begin to shape the teenager's perceptions of how society works and what the range of available social roles are. These direct experiences are frequently in peer-group settings, however, so peer-group mediation of these experiences must be taken into account. Since the adolescent is now able to engage in sophisticated causal reasoning, and make high-level moral judgements (24, 25, 26, 27), at the same time that his field of primary experience is widening rapidly, the effect of perceptions of local events is more powerful at this age in shaping his own role concepts than it was earlier, and possibly than it ever will be again. Later local events will compete with happenings in the larger society to an extent that they now do not.

Extra-Familial Role Models. Because of the above-mentioned fact that developing cognitive and evaluative abilities and wider experience are leading to significant restructurings of perceptions of social reality, the effect of special adult role models at this age may be very great. Studies of critical influences in the lives of

young adults who were conscientious objectors in World War II (13) and of women who became active in the Women's Strike for Peace in 1962 (3) reveals the importance of an encounter, often in the early teens, with a minister, teacher or other community figure who represented a dynamic role model for social change in contrast with earlier role model exposure for these individuals. Encounters with great social innovators through reading were also reported as significant experiences.

School. The teacher as role model (except in the case of unusually powerful personalities) recedes in importance as a socializing influence, at the same time that the cognitive content of the material presented in the formal educational setting increases in importance. While students are still heavily influenced by a teacher's organization and presentation of cognitive material, they are increasingly drawing on independent sources of information about what is going on in the world. The mastery of sophisticated cognition skills and capacities for ethical evaluation, already mentioned, plus acquisition of an increasing stock of facts, makes early adolescence the critical period of integrating a basic world view which will by and large remain unaffected by later knowledge inputs.

Secondary Social Environment. The teenager's perceptions of public phenomena such as war, depression, social injustice, become increasingly independent of the earlier mediating influences of home and school. Specific events such as assassinations, riots and military invasions act directly on young people's minds, as one more set of

inputs into the major integrative effort they are making as they create a cognitive mapping of the world they know. One may say that these events act as socializing agents, and young people themselves recognize this. We will see later what a high degree of consensus there is on public events which shaped an age cohort's view of the world. Again, future public events will never make the same impact because the view of the world will already be set in these years. The role of films and books as a part of this secondary environment is important. The Guetzkow (13) and Boulding (3) studies mentioned earlier, in addition to reporting that specific persons were identified as bringing about crucial changes in world view and view of the self as an agent at this age, also reported that particular books and films were mentioned as having this intense restructuring effect.

Voluntary Associations. Becoming a part of significant new peer reference groups through joining special interest groups provides a powerful medium for peer socialization to future social roles. What Eisenstadt (7) has written about peer groups generally applies even more to special interest associations that structure and strengthen commitment on the part of young people to specific social behaviors. The Guetzkow (13) study cited above reported frequent reference to high school international affairs clubs as anticipatory socialization for the conscientious objector role as a young adult. Church young people's groups with a strong peace emphasis were also an important agent of this socialization.

During adolescence we are suggesting that the emphasis shifts away from the family as the chief presenter of social roles and toward the primary social environment, extra-familial role models and the

school. The development of the capacity for sophisticated causal reasoning and complex moral judgments, combined with the acquisition of a large stock of factual knowledge about the world during these years, make the interaction of these developments with the series of influences represented by school and community personalities and public events a critical juncture in the socialization of the adolescent into the general culture of his time. He will make his own unique mapping of the larger social reality and try out possible future social roles in the microcosm of his own immediate environment. In doing this he will act on the opportunities afforded him by his socialization experiences to engage in active intellectual search based on the perception of social alternatives, and to play out creative problem-solving behavior.

Young Adulthood

The processes at work through the various agents of socialization specified in adolescence continue in young adulthood. The emphasis shifts even further away from the family, and the influence of the primary social environment and formal learning situations lessen. The secondary social environment and voluntary associations increase in importance.

In a sense the young adult undergoes a voluntary resocialization by the family as he re-evaluates his parents as role-models and establishes a new, part-filial, part-collegial relationship with them in anticipation of his (or her) own future parental role. Local events (primary social experience) recede in significance in his daily life as happenings in the larger social world (secondary social experience) begin to impinge more directly on him. If he goes to college, the cognitive restructuring begun in high school continues, but at a slower pace. The

college student gains more information, but changes in world view, while noticeable, are relatively slow (23, 17). As far as I know, changes in rate and extent of restructuring of world view in high school as compared with college has still to be researched, so this hypothesis cannot yet be supported. At the least, it corresponds with the subjective perception of some people who have worked with both high school and college students. On the other hand, recent evidence on new approaches to university learning through increased emphasis on field work, real-life apprenticeship situations and independent study, with formal course work de-emphasized, gives some indication that there may be a more radical restructuring of world view in these settings than in the traditional classroom environment (33). Educational innovation may come to offset any developmentally based tendencies to slow down the rate of restructuring perceptions of the world in young adulthood.

Significant extra-familial role models are now more likely to come out of one's own peer group than from older adults, although the older-generation-role-model effect sill continues to some extent. The counter-culture, for example, has generated its own youthful role models. Books also continue as a rich source of role models.

The role of voluntary associations for young people still in apprentice roles, whether in institutions of higher learning or elsewhere, becomes increasingly important as an opportunity to try out new social roles. This may be in counter-culture settings, mainstream settings, or in a variety of intermediate non-conforming groups including minority group associations. Some of these groups are strictly age-graded and aimed at youth only, others take young people directly into going

older-adult activities. The important thing is that young people who are aware, because of their previous socialization experiences that a wide variety of social roles is open to them, may now select optimal special group environments to try out roles they would like to commit themselves to in adulthood. Depending on their previous experiences, they will at this point view the world in one of the Polakian modes of optimism or pessimism about the nature of the world and the role of man in it.

Student's Views of Possible Futures and Non-Violent Social Change

With the above socialization model in mind, we will now turn to the responses of a group of 88 students in a class on the Problems and Prospects of Peace at the University of Colorado, to a questionnaire on possible futures and the likelihood of non-violent social changes. It should be born in mind that these students are pre-selected by virtue of registration for a "peace" course, for their concern with social problems and peaceful change. Since the questionnaire was not constructed to test the model, the data is only suggestive in relation to the variables hypothesized. A few of the same questions were also asked of about sixty high school students in the local high schools.

Background Information on the Students

Sixty per cent were female, 40 per cent male, and of the males 14 per cent were C.O.'s or draft resisters, 9 per cent had completed military service, and the remaining 77 per cent had student deferments and did not specifically indicate their plans. Fifty-six per cent were

lower division students, 44 per cent upper division, reflecting a variety of College of Arts and Sciences backgrounds, plus business, education and nursing. Thirty-six per cent were sociology or psychology majors, and the remaining 64 per cent were distributed among other fields. Where the social science majors responded differently from the other students, they will be reported separately. Seventy-four per cent of the entire class had participated in the spring student mobilization against the war in Vietnam the previous spring, but only 27 per cent had participated in the planning, so the class was by no means made up only of strong peace activists.

Social Values from Childhood Through Young Adulthood

A recent study of French students after the May 1969 protest activities, by French investigators (22), asked each student to rank ten social values as they had felt about them in elementary school, then in high school and at the present. The same questinn was used in the present study. (Comparative data for French and American students will be reported in a later paper.) Table 1 shows how many students

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Insert Table 1 here.

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ranked each of these values first or second. Since this is in effect a ranking by students of some of the socialization agents in our model, for our purposes it is interesting to note that love of family ranked first in elementary schoo, second in high school, and stayed second to the present. Respect for teachers was ranked first by four per cent in elementary school, by one per cent in high school, and by none in college. While this supports the hypothesis of declining influence of teachers

Table 1. Ranking of Social Values in Elementary School, High School and College.*

Values	Elementary School		Values	High School		Values	College	
	Rank	%		Rank	%		Rank	%
Love of Family	1	42	Sense of Personal Responsibility	1	27	Sense of Personal Responsibility	1	33
Solidarity with Peers	2	31	Love of Family	2	25	Love of Family	2	23
Sense of Personal Responsibility	3.5	7	Solidarity with Peers	3	16	Love of Humanity	3	20
Love of Humanity	3.5	7	Love of Humanity	4	13	Sense of Social Responsibility	4	12
Respect for Teachers	5.5	4	Sense of Social Responsibility	5	11	Solidarity with Peers	5	7
Love of Country	5.5	4	Love of Work	6.33	2	Love of Work	6.5	2
Love of Work	6.5	2	Importance of Money	6.33	2	Involvement in Politics	6.5	2
Importance of Money	6.5	2	Involvement in Politics	6.33	2	Importance of Money	8	1
Sense of Social Responsibility	9	1	Respect for Teachers	9.5	1	Respect for Teachers	9.5	0
Involvement in Politics	10	0	Love of Country	9.5	1	Love of Country	9.5	0

*Ranked #1 or #2 on questionnaire.

from elementary school on; it also suggests that the role of the teacher is much less important, at any time, least in the eyes of young adults, than educators would like to think! Solidarity with peer groups was ranked first by 31 per cent in elementary school, 16 per cent in high school, and only 7 per cent in college, since most students when they think of childhood peers are probably thinking of the play groups of later elementary years when they were freer to organize their own play; one might expect peers to rank highest then. The low importance of peers in college is interesting, probably reflecting the increasing importance of special purpose peer groups as over against general peer solidarity. The high ranking of sense of personal and social responsibility throughout probably reflects a high level of social awareness and training for autonomy, in the students' family settings. The fact that love of country as a first choice drops from four per cent in elementary school to zero in college is an interesting example of young people's independent perception of the secondary social environment apart from the influence of authority figures, since all of the major socializing agents in theory inclucate a strong love of country. Also interesting is that the values of love of work, money and politics never rise to first choice by more than two per cent at any age. This was during the pre-election campaigning for peace candidates, but these students apparently had little experience of political action as effective.

My hypothesis that each youth cohort has its view of the world most strongly affected by events coming relatively early in their awareness of the larger social environment, and less affected by later events, is somewhat supported by the different rankings of events between high

school and college students in response to the request to list five major events which were critical in shaping their view of the United States. Table 2 shows that Vietnam and the Kennedy assassinations had a major

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Insert Table 2 here.

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effect on everyone, but Vietnam was a fresh input for each cohort, and in a way so were the assassinations. The high school students probably gave primacy in their own minds to the second Kennedy assassination, the college students to the first one. Race riots and Martin Luther King's assassination interestingly did not make it into the list of the first five events for the college students, whereas the older Cuban crisis and "firsts" in space did. The Cuban crisis must have affected the high school students very strongly in their early years, because it did achieve fifth place for them.

Both college and high school students were asked to choose twenty world heroes who had contributed the most to the betterment of mankind, in a replication of recent international world heroes contest run for teachers by the British Parliamentary Group for World Government (1), This should reflect each group's exposure to secondarly role models. A listing of the eighteen most chosen heroes by each group (Table 3) indicates that only seven out of eighteen choices overlap

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Insert Table 3 here.

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between the two groups. The high school group has chosen more political figures, probably reflecting the input of their high school U.S. history course, and the college group has chosen a greater diversity of figures,

Table 2. Events Affecting View of United States.

College Students		High School Students	
Events	Rank	Events	Rank
Vietnam.	1	Vietnam.	1
Assassination JFK--RFK	2	Assassination JFK--RFK	2
Cuban Crisis	3	Race Riots	3
Space Program. . . .	4	Assassination King	4
Youth Movement . . .	5	Cuban Crisis	5

Table 3. World Heroes Chosen by College and High School Students.

College Students		High School Students	
Heroes	Rank	Heroes	Rank
Gandhi	1	J. F. Kennedy	1
M. L. King	2	M. L. King	2
Jesus Christ	3	Abraham Lincoln	3
A. Schweitzer	4	Churchill	4
Einstein	5	R. F. Kennedy	5.5
Marx	6	George Washington	5.5
Churchill	7.5	Thomas Jefferson	7.5
Shakespeare	7.5	Pope John XXIII	7.5
Pasteur	9	Jesus Christ	9
Hammerskjold	10	Benjamin Franklin	10
Benjamin Franklin	11	Einstein	11
Walt Disney	12	Eisenhower	12
Jonas Salk	13.5	Gandhi	13.25
Thoreau	13.5	Pope Paul VI	13.25
Freud	15	F. D. Roosevelt	13.25
Leonardo de Vinci	16.5	Teddy Roosevelt	13.25
J. F. Kennedy	16.5	Thomas Pickney	17.5
Beatles	18.	Socrates	17.5

probably indicating more independent reading on their part. Neither list is impressive for its breadth, however, reflecting some paucity of exposure to role models of other major cultural traditions for both high school and college students. Furthermore, only seven of the eighteen in the college list can be thought of as major contributors to world peace, and possibly six of the high school list. This in spite of the fact that the world heroes list was in the context of a class on peace problems. This is, of course, a reflection of the fact that very few of the history books read by high school or college students emphasize heroes of non-violence and peace.

Images of the Future

I suggested earlier that the predominant mode of viewing the world in our society was that the world was bad, but man could make it better. The following data on images of the future reflects the views of the college student only, and I regret I cannot make the comparison with the younger age group.

Table 4 which shows the percentage of respondents agreeing with

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Insert Table 4 here.

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a series of statements pertaining to a general philosophy of the future, reproduced from a UNESCO Images of the World (10) study the earlier suggestion that essence-pessimism and influence optimism is a characteristic world view today (comparative data to be discussed in another paper). It will be seen that there is an almost unanimous conviction of the necessity for fundamental social change. The next most agreed with items concern an activist role for man in making that change, and

Table 4. General Future Philosophy.

Rank	Items	% R's agreeing with item
1	A really fundamental change is necessary if this world shall be a good world to live in.	93
2	If a man is to accomplish his mission in life it is sometimes necessary to gamble "all or nothing at all."	65
3	However much the external conditions are changed it is the moral qualities of man that really count.	57
4	The future is so uncertain that the best thing one can do is to take one day after the other.	43
5	Everything is changing so rapidly these days that one hardly knows what is right and what is wrong any longer.	26
6	To achieve the happiness of mankind in the future it is sometimes necessary to put up with injustices in the present.	19
7	The most important thing is not one's own success but the success of one's children.	11
8	It is by returning to our glorious and forgotten past that real social progress can be achieved.	7
9.5	The most important thing is not to be successful in this world, but what happens in the afterlife.	6
9.5	The present is all too often full of unhappiness. It is only the future that counts.	6

an affirmation of man's moral qualities. After that the ambivalence and uncertainty of the times begins to show up.

Another question from the UNESCO study asked young people to list the differences they thought would obtain between the year 2000 and today, and also to list the best that could happen and the worst that could happen. Table 5 shows a real pessimism about the future when

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Insert Table 5 here.

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when the general differences are listed, particularly with reference to loss of humanistic values. Concern with poverty, population and pollution shows up in all three columns, and fear of war, desire for peace, take primacy over other concerns. There is an interesting note of millenialist optimism in Table 6, which shows the percentage of

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Insert Table 6 here.

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respondents who feel peace is likely in five years, twenty years and by the year 2000. The year 2000 is only thirty years away, but the number expecting peace by then shoots from 34 per cent expecting peace in twenty years to 56 per cent expecting peace by the year 2000. This millenialist tendency characterizes a great deal of current writing about the year 2000, and raises interesting speculations about the possible impetus for creative peace-making and problem-solving in the next thirty years to be derived from this millenialist enthusiasm. (Asked elsewhere in the questionnaire how far away they felt the year 2000 was, 74 per cent responded "very near" or "somewhat near," so there is a certain quality of immediacy in this millenialism!)

Table 5. Differences Between the Year 2000 and Today.

General		The Best That Could Happen		The Worst That Could Happen	
Item	% R's Naming Item	Item	% R's Naming Item	Item	% R's Naming Item
More Automation and Technology--Less Human Density	24	Peace, World Community	22	Nuclear Wars, All Types of Wars	23
Population Crisis and Attendant Phenomena (Hunger, Poverty)	14	No Population Problems, No Poverty	15	Pollution, Over-Population, Deteriorating Environment	22
Increasing World Militarization	12	Love, Humanism and Harmony	12	Dictatorship, Authoritarianism, "1984"	9
Changes in Governments, and Societies	10	Disarmament, Nuclear Test Ban	11	Armageddon	9
World Problems Will Be Handled at World Community Level	9	Equality	10	World Revolution, Militarism	7.5

Table 6. The Likelihood of Peace and Disarmament between Now and the Year 2000.

Time Span in Which Peace Will Be Achieved	% of R's Who Feel Peace Is Likely
In 5 years	9
In 20 years	34
In Year 2000	56

Likelihood of Peace and Non-Violent Social Change

It was suggested earlier that experiences of autonomy and success in problem-solving would be a necessary part of earlier socialization experiences if individuals are to perceive non-violent change as possible, and themselves as change agents. How autonomous, competent and optimistic to the students in the self-selected sample of this peace class feel? Table 7 shows that they feel very autonomous indeed--"the

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Insert Table 7 here.

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future is mine to make"--but considerably less optimistic about their influence on public affairs. Most interesting here is the notable increase in pessimism for the social science majors compared to all other students. Does this reflect greater sophistication and more knowledge of the complexity of social issues and their intractability, i.e., a greater complexity of congitive structures, or reflect a self-selection into social science of more pessimistic people? Table 8 on perceptions

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Insert Table 8.here.

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of the likelihood of non-violent social change in the areas of ethnic, class and sex discrimination, income inequalities, differential access to poltical power and university campus problems shows the same distinctive tendency towards pessimism for social science majors. In general, there is a fair optimism about non-violent change in the areas of sex, class and ethnic discrimination and income inequality, in that order, but far less optimism about non-violent redistribution of political power either in the outside world or on the campus. There is

Table 7. Autonomy and Influence.

Future Yours To Make	All	Major	
		Psy-Soc	Others
Mine to Make.	91%	91%	91%
Very Little or No Control	9%	9%	9%

Influence on Public Affairs	All	Major	
		Psy-Soc	Others
Lots, Some.	56%	41%	64%
Very Little, None . . .	44%	59%	36%

Table 8. Likelihood of Non-Violent Social Change.

Type of Social Injustice	All	Major	
		Psy-Soc	Others
Ethnic Discrimination	66%	59%	70%
Class Discrimination	72%	66%	75%
Sex Discrimination	83%	81%	84%
Income Inequality	60%	53%	64%
Differential Access to Political Power	32%	25%	36%
University Campus Problems	44%	34%	50%

a further drop in optimism when the scene shifts to the international situation, as in Table 9. Students do not think non-violent solutions

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Insert Table 9 here.

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to the problems of rich and poor nations, nationalism, militarism and colonialism are likely, and again social science majors are the most pessimistic of all. At the same time, as Table 10 indicates, students

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Insert Table 10 here.

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have strong feelings that there are policy alternatives: 91 per cent on the domestic scene, but also a high 84 per cent on the international scene. Here there is no difference between social science major and others.

Students whose personal socialization experiences have led them to develop a strong sense of personal autonomy and competence concerning social problems, are faced with conflicting feelings of pessimism about events going from bad to worse over which they have had no personal control, particularly on the international scene, but also with the feeling that there are still alternatives, that the future is still open.

An interesting perspective on this dilemma of today's student who feels competent, sees alternatives, and yet sees many events over which he has no control, is gained from Table 11 which lists the thirteen most

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Insert Table 11 here.

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frequently chosen peace proposals from a longer list of twenty-five

Table 9. Non-Violent Social Change: International.

Percentage of Likely	All	Major	
		Psy-Soc	Others
Rich-Poor	30%	28%	32%
Nationalism	23%	19%	25%
Militarism	25%	22%	27%
Colonialism	25%	22%	27%

Table 10. Alternatives in Policy Planning.

Percentage of Likely	All	Major	
		Psy-Soc	Others
Domestic	91%	91%	91%
International	84%	91%	80%

Table 11. Peace Proposals Chosen by Students As Being Among the Five Most Important Proposals.

Proposals	Rank Order of Choice	% R's Naming Item	% R's Feeling Effective	Rank Order of Feeling Effective
We should have general and complete disarmament as soon as possible.	1	17	49	6
Hunger and poverty should be abolished all over the world.	2	9	71	4
We should improve the United Nations so as to make it more efficient than it is today.	3	9	41	9
It should be possible for people to choose their governments freely all over the world.	4	8	44	7
We should have a world state with disappearance of national borders and an efficient world government.	5	7.5	38	10.5
All countries should stop completely from intervening into the internal affairs of other countries.	6	7	20	13
We should have a strong international peace keeping force that can stop aggression from any country or group of countries.	7	6	35	12
We should have increased trade, exchange and cooperation between countries that are not on friendly terms.	8.5	5	52	5
One should start with the single individual everywhere and make him less aggressive.	8.5	5	96	1

Continued

Table 11. Continued

Proposals	Rank Order of Choice	% R's Naming Item	% R's Feeling Effective	Rank Order of Feeling Effective
One should create more peaceful relations in the family, at school and at work.	10	5	95	2
The colonial system should be abolished all over the world.	11	5	43	8
The gap between poor and rich countries should disappear.	12	4	38	10.5
A world language that can be understood in all countries should be adopted all over the world.	13	3	75	3

(also from the UNESCO Image of the Year 2000 (10) study) in rank order. Table 11 also gives the rank order of feelings of personal effectiveness in regard to the proposal chosen, and there is a certain tendency to reverse the rank order, i.e., students feel that the most important peace proposals are the ones in which they can be least effective, and that some of the less important ones are those in which they can be most effective. The reversal is by no means complete, however, and lots of students for example feel they can help abolish hunger and poverty all over the world.

To review the hypothesis implicit in the socialization model presented earlier: Experiences which lead to the perception of ternative futures in any problem situation and alternative role paths to those futures, and a sense of personal competence to choose or construct role paths toward a desired future, will produce persons who believe non-violent change toward a better society is possible. Six agents of socialization were identified in the model: the family, the primary social environment, extra-familial role models, the school, the secondary social environment and voluntary associations. It was suggested that the relative importance of each agent would shift over time, moving from family primacy in childhood to secondary social environment, and voluntary associations. It was suggested that the relative importance of each agent would shift over time, moving from family primacy in childhood to secondary social environment and voluntary associations primacy in young adulthood. It was also suggested that key public events in late childhood and early adolescence would contribute

critically to the shaping of the world view during a period when basic cognitive integration of social facts was going on, and would persist over time without allowing the same primacy to later public events. Degree of cognitive complexity was also related to perception of alternatives and lack of rigidity and hostility in the face of the unknown.

While the data on college and high school students did not explicitly test the model, it threw light on the following facets of the model:

(1) The college students were self-selected enrollees in a Problems and Prospects of Peace class who had also for the most part participated in the Student Mobilization Against the War in Vietnam the previous spring, so presumably they had all been through a socialization process which led to some degree of perception of alternative futures and the possibility of non-violent social change. They all ranked high on feelings of personal autonomy and influence on public affairs, and on their own future.

(2) A ranking by students of socializing agents from their own childhood to college years indicated that the family fell from first to second place but no further; teachers were never high and dropped rapidly as highly valued socializers, and so did peer groups, though to a lesser extent.

(3) Perception of critical events affecting their view of the U.S. on the part of high school and college students reflected at least in part different key critical events in these cohort experience during early adolescence.

(4) Noticeably lower levels of optimism about the possibility of non-violent social change in areas of both domestic and international social injustice on the part of social science majors compared to non-social science majors may point to greater cognitive complexity in the mental structures of the social science students in relation to these problems. This works against the hypothesis, except that there was no difference in perception of alternatives and feelings of autonomy in the two groups, so the pessimism may reflect a more realistic appraisal of possibilities for social action, rather than a simple denial of the potential for non-violent change.

(5) In general the students felt optimism about the future and more possibilities of personal effectivenss in areas where they realistically felt they could make a personal input, i.e. the domestic level, and less optimistic where they felt they could be less effective, on the international level. Again, this appears to reflect a realistic appraisal of their own limitations.

Considering the realistic constraints of the present domestic and international situation, and the cultural limitation on the variety of secondary role models available to these students, their strong feelings about the openness of the future, and the possibility of alternative policies and alternative roles for themselves, is almost surprising.

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